342

[531]

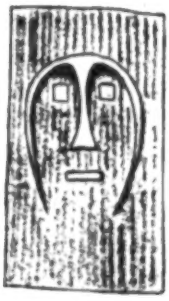

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[531] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbə̄'mekūnă I 276 248

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [177]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [139]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-myĭŏk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntŏn I; bowl, obă'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awú'ba, kúbuga; contracted form, akúa) [285 439] which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 285 416 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 251 415 The storage basket (angūn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing foodstuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 415 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combination of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 841 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̀ɛ̄ IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

411 The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
439 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

411 The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
[498] like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfŏk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the
[415] spears, akŏn. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (ašo, ašun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They
[481] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
● [439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[291] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

● 439 A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
441 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[432] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

342 [513] 352 [356] [262] 342

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

501 [396] 502 [533] [44] [501] [439]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

227 Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
● [939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[726] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Ekí*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui dwarfs), dug the *minkok ekí* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi beki, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbuaq* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ekí* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ekí* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkw*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing